DOS REVIEWED 12-Nov-2010: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

TOP SECRET

April 11, 1969

REFER TO DOS

FBI REVIEWED 09-Nov-2010: NO OBJECTION TO DECLASSIFICATION.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you for your letter of April 4, exclosing the report on the recent Communist conferences in Budapest and Moscow.

The report is an excellent piece of intelligence. It clearly indicates to me the depth of the Bureau's coverage. You and your men have my compliments on an outstanding job.

Warm regards,

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Heary A. Kissinger

The Honorable
J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

TOP SECRET

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No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/28: LOC-HAK-447-1-10-3

TOP SECRET/NO FOLEIGN DISSEMINATION/NO DISSEMINATION ABROAD

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 8, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

FROM:

A. R. Ash

SUBJECT:

Strength of Soviet Leadership at Home

and Abroad.

FBI Director Hoover thought that the President would be interested in the report enclosed with his letter to you dated April 4, attached. The report is one which was recently brought back to top leaders of the U.S. Communist Party by Party representatives who took part in a series of international communist conferences in Budapest and Moscow attended by delegates from communist parties in 68 countries. These conferences were in preparation for the International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties to be held in Moscow, June 6, 1969.

Because of the sensitive sources from which FBI gained access to the report prepared by the U.S. Communist Party representatives to the conferences, the information bears the classification Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination/No Dissemination Abroad.

Highlights of the report of the returning U. S. Communist Party delegates are as follows:

The current goal of Soviet policy is reportedly the reaching of an understanding with the U. S. but at the same time uniting the world communist movement against "imperialism".

The present leadership of the Soviet Union is reported to be "in complete command". Among other countries in the "communist camp", Soviet authority and influence have increased to "a point of cooperation not witnessed at international communist gatherings for many years".

Some dissatisfaction is being expressed within the USSR by members of the intelligentsia and even by some middle level leadership in the Communist Party, because of the gradual loss of previous "democratic gains" and the "tightening of the dictatorship".

Soviet leaders indicate they believe President Nixon has yet to make up his mind on many questions concerning which he is "being pressured by forces within the Republican Party and other influential forces in the United States".

On the subject of arms control Soviet leaders "see a strong possibility that President Nixon may see the light of reality" and reach an agreement, and thus "reduce the possibility of a conflict that neither side could win". (The report of the U. S. Communist Party delegates adds that "The Soviets indicate they intend to be very patient".)

On the conflict with China the Communist report states that "It is an open secret that the Soviets are preparing to answer the Chinese with force if necessary although they would prefer to avoid it." Also, the Soviets are said to have the "overwhelming support of the international communist movement" in the matter of Red China border clashes. At home, the border situation has served to "arouse the patriotism of the Soviet people".

The problem of Czechoslovakia ... "The Soviet people are also beginning to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakaia" ... In the communist countries there is said to be increasing belief that the Soviets were correct in their assessment that a counterrevolution was imminent in Czechoslovakia . . . "and support for Czechoslovakia is beginning to erode even in those countries where the communist parties openly supported Czechoslovakia".

The Communist delegates' report says that the Soviets indicate that events in Czechoslovakia are quietly building to a coup . . . the Czech Army reportedly has informed the Czech Communist Party that it will lend support only if law and order is maintained and the alliance with the Soviet Union kept intact . . . a majority of Czech Communist Party leaders are said to favor a change in the top party leadership . . . the Soviets are reported as saying that the security forces in Czechoslovakia are in better hands now and shortly will be in very good hands . . . and the disturbances in Czechoslovakia following defeat of the Soviet hockey team "played right into the hands of the Soviets", according to the U. S. Communist Party delegates. (Their report also notes that there are some pockets of discontent in the USSR and other communist countries because of the Soviet policy toward

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Czechoslovakia -- a discontent which the U. S. delegates state should not be "overestimated" because of limits on "non-vocal opposition".)

A tightening of Communist ranks, generally is attributed in the report to (1) U. S. plans for an ABM system (2) efforts being made to revise NATO, and (3) the "developing ties" between the U. S. and West Germany.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

The FBI has already made appropriate dissemination of the report to the Attorney General and other interested officials.

It is suggested that you sign the attached memorandum to FBI Director Hoover, thanking him for furnishing this report and commending him on the effective FBI coverage which produced it.

A. R. Ash

Attachments.